/124 cont./

782 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be
869 passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Doutrador Vicente Jesuíno (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), roused by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the opá (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition
785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[184] in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same
[869] holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandesy, "our
[868] mother"): they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "volites" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

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786 ORGIES--practices reflecting hysterical tendencies or release from normal inhibitions; frenzied singing and dancing; ceremonial license (e.g., phallic rites, temporary lifting of sex restraints, ceremonial intoxication); bacchanalian revels; religious prostitution; induced hysteria, hallucination, and swoon; religious revivalism; etc. See also:

Sex taboo 53
Drunkenness 979
Temple practices 760
Conception of abnormal mental state . . . 616

2: Schaden--156 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144

/122 cont./

782 796 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 182 [796] [424] [787] Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahéi is an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies, from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each individual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahéi, received personally in a dream from some protector spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbyá. The Kayová, to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

[184] [424] [787]

Each porahéi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences. During the porahéi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

• [786]

782 424 114 The most precious possessions of an individual are his porahéi, which are referred to with pride and even with some reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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[562] secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great [622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could [628] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[80] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. [797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the [786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was [171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups [276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true [824] of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant-remedies seem to have been [755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

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[80] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Apparently the *pa'i* were closely bound up with the revivalistic tendencies of various Tupi-Guarani cultures, and especially with their messianic aspects. The movements noted among the Tupinambá are similar in many ways to those subsequently denoted "revivalistic movements" in North America; and the coastal Tupi impulses were even more like the later movements among the southern Tupi-Guarani. It is not known whether any such movements occurred in history of the Cayuá prior to the 19th century. In the Jesuit accounts there are hints of what may have been incipient phases of such movements among the Guarani, but presumably the drastic repressive action of the priests scotched them before they had a chance to spread far. Powerful shamans and their predictions (and maledictions against the Catholics) appear always to have been central in these affairs. The close similarity of the 19th century movements of the Cayuá and the Apapocuva-Guarani to those of other Tupi-Guarani, even though remote in space or time, probably justifies us in treating the matter as evidence of a more or less constant potential of these related cultures. Properly stimulated, this potential produced surprisingly like results in various places and at various times. At base, the movements seemed to depend upon the prophetic statements of powerful shamans: in view of impending great changes in their present situation, a new mode of behavior was in order, a change of their way of life (though the change might be backward-looking), to prepare themselves for the great day. Thus occurred in the histories of a number of these peoples large-scale migrations in search of "the land of no evil." Little as is known of them, the Cayuá movements are generally similar to the somewhat better documented impulses of other groups. It is possible that the Cayuá, because of their belated direct contact with Europeans and their longer avoidance of such contacts, had less reason for the development of messianic cults.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies.

In a *Paĩ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea.

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother.

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĩ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37).

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

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and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

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During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanygua*, and the *Oguauíva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

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This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

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